

Message Text

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INFO AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

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AMCONSUL HONG KONG

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CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L PEKING 0951

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, CH

SUBJ: TENTH PARTY CONGRESS

1. ATMOSPHERICS. LOCAL RESPONSE TO NEWS OF PARTY CONGRESS HAS LACKED ENTHUSIASM OR MILITANCE. AS NINE P.M. AUGUST 29 BROADCAST BEGAN TO REPORT RESULTS OF MEETING, DECORATIVE LIGHTS ON BUILDINGS ALL OVER PEKING (EXCEPT REVOLUTIONARY MUSEUM AND GREAT HALL OF THE PEOPLE) WENT ON. SHORTLY THEREAFTER SMALL KNOTS OF RATHER DESULTORY MARCHERS, MOSTLY YOUNG PEOPLE, STARTED PARADING AROUND STREETS OF CAPITAL BEHIND RED FLAGS, CYMBALS, DRUMS, AND PORTRAITS OF CHAIRMAN MAO. THEIR PATTERS OF MARCH WERE CAREFULLY CONTROLLED TO COVER SPECIFIC NEIGHBORHOODS, WITH NO LARGE CROWDS PERMITTED TO COLLECT. TIEN AN MEN SQUARE RELATIVELY EMPTY. THE LARGEST GROUPS, REACHING PERHAPS SEVERAL HUNDRED EACH, WERE SEEN IN FRONT OF THE MIN TSU AND HSIN CHIAO HOTELS, AS IF GATHERED THERE FOR THE BENEFIT OF FOREIGN VISITORS. THERE WERE A FEW SCATTERED FIRECRACKERS AND SKYROCKETS. SLOGANS WERE MUTTERED EN MASSE RATHER THAN SHOUTED IN ANY
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DISCIPLINED OR ENERGETIC WAY. THOSE FEW PEKING RESIDENTS WHO

WERE OUT ON THE STREETS AND NOT MARCHING MOVED ABOUT WITHOUT JOINING IN. ONE WORKER WELDING A SECTION OF PIPE NEAR THE OLD CITY MOAT DID NOT EVEN STOP TO LOOK UP AS THE MASSES SHAMBLED BY. THE SPECIAL LIGHTS WENT OUT PROMPTLY AT MIDNIGHT, BY WHICH TIME MOST MARCHERS WERE WELL IN THEIR BEDS. MARCHING ACTIVITY CONTINUES AUGUST 30 ON SLIGHTLY LARGER SCALE THOUGH WITH NO INCREASE IN VERVE.

2. DOCUMENTS. THE ONLY DOCUMENTS PUBLISHED SO FAR ARE THE CONGRESS COMMUNIQUE AND THE LISTS OF THE PRAESIDIUM, CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND ALTERNATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS. LISTS ARE IN STROKE ORDER AND GIVE NO HINT OF PRECEDENCE, BUT THE ORDER IN WHICH THE PICTURES WHICH FILL AUGUST 30 "PEOPLE'S DAILY" APPEAR MAY PROVIDE SOME CLUES. FIRST PAGE, OF COURSE, CARRIES ENORMOUS PICTURE OF CHAIRMAN MAO. PAGE 2 - COMMUNIQUE AND NAME LISTS, PAGE 3 - TOP - MAO SEATED AT ROSTRUM DESK WITH CHOU EN-LAI ON RIGHT AND WANG HUNG-WEN ON LEFT; BOTTOM - TENTH CONGRESS PRAESIDIUM SEATED IN WHAT APPEARS TO BE GREAT HALL OF PEOPLE; PAGE 4 - EIGHT PHOTOS, WHICH FROM LEFT TO RIGHT DOWN THE PAGE SHOW THE FOLLOWING: A. MAO ALONE; B. CHOU, KANG SHENG (LOOKING VERY FRAIL) AND LI TE-SHENG; C. YEH CHIEN-YING AND WANG HUNG-WEN; D. LIU PO-CH'ENG, CHU TE, AND CHEN HSI-LIEN; E. CHIANG CH'ING (RATHER SOMBER) AND CHANG CH'UN-CH'IAO; F. YAO WEN-YUAN (DISTINCTLY GRUMPY) BESIDE CHI TENG-K'UEI AND HUA KUO-FENG; G. TUNG PI-WU, LI HSIEN-NIEN, AND HSU SHIH-YU; AND H. WANG TUNG-HSING AND WU TE.

3. A QUICK LOOK AT THE CONGRESS NAME LISTS SUGGESTS THAT CHOU EN-LAI HAS MANAGED ANOTHER TIGHTROPE WALK. THE RISE OF YOUNG MEN LIKE WANG HUNG-WEN IS BALANCED BY THE RETURNED REHABILITEES LIKE LI CHING-CH'UAN AND T'AN CHEN-LIN. THERE ARE FEWER MILITARY MEN, MORE WOMEN. THE STATE COUNCIL APPEARS TO HAVE DONE WELL.

4. SPECIFIC DENUNCIATIONS OF LIN PIAO AND CHEN PO-TA ASIDE, THE COMMUNIQUE IS COUCHED IN THE BROADEST TERMS. THE U.S. IS LUMPED WITH THE USSR AS A SUPER POWER WHOSE "HEGEMONISM" IS TO BE OPPOSED. AT THE SAME TIME, THE SOVET UNION IS SINGLED OUT FOR SPECIAL TREATMENT WITH A WARNING TO BE ON GUARD AGAINST SURPRISE ATTACKS BY "SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM." WE NOTE
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BENEATH THE RHETORIC THAT SEVERAL MFA OFFICIALS INSTRUMENTAL IN THE DETENTE WITH THE U.S., I.E., UN AMBASSADOR HUANG HUA, FONMIN CHI P'ENG-FEI, VICE FONMIN CH'IAO KUAN-HUA, WERE HONORED WITH MEMBERSHIP IN THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. PRCLO CHIEF HUANG CHEN REMAINS A MEMBER, AND NANCY T'ANG, CHOU'S INTERPRETER, WAS ELECTED AS A CENTRAL COMMITTEE ALTERNATE.

5. ANOMALIES. SEVERAL THINGS STRIKE US AS ODD ABOUT THE

CONGRESS:

A. BREVITY. FIVE DAYS IS THE SHORTEST CONGRESS SINCE THE COMMUNISTS CAME TO POWER. THE DEFENSIVE REFERENCES IN THE COMMUNIQUE TO "REPEATED DELIBERATIONS AND CONSULTATIONS" DEMONSTRATE LEADERSHIP'S SENSITIVITY TO POTENTIAL CHARGES THAT THE CONGRESS WAS A PUT US RUSH JOB.

B. SECRECY. THIS IS THE FIRST CONGRESS SINCE THE COMMUNISTS TOOK POWER THAT HAS NOT BEEN ANNOUNCED AT THE OUTSET. WE WOULD SPECULATE THAT THE CONGRESS PLANNERS WERE WORRIED ENOUGH ABOUT POSSIBLE MISHAPS TO RISK CREATING A NON-DEMOCRATIC CENTRALIST IMAGE.

C. LOCATION. THE COMMUNIQUE SAYS THE MEETING TOOK PLACE IN PEKING, AND THE PICTURES IN THE PEOPLE'S DAILY SEEM TO BE TAKEN IN THE GREAT HALL. WE HAVE NO IDEA, HOWEVER, OF HOW THE DELEGATES GOT THERE, AS THERE WERE FEW SIGNS OF ACTIVITY AROUND THE GREAT HALL ON THE DAYS THE CONGRESS REPORTEDLY BEING HELD.

D. ABSENT PERSONNEL. SEVERAL IMPORTANT CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS, NOTABLY SAIFUDIN AND YANG YUNG, APPEARED IN THEIR HOME PROVINCES ON AUGUST 26, RIGHT IN THE MIDDLE OF THE CONGRESS. OTHER LEADERS, LIKE TENG HSIAO-PING MADE SOME RATHER ROUTINE APPEARANCES. ALL OF THESE MAY HAVE BEEN A STUDIED EFFORT TO KEEP THE CONGRESS SECRET, BUT THEY ARE UNUSUAL. OUR INITIAL SUMMARY IMPRESSION IS THAT THE CONGRESS WAS CAREFULLY MANAGED PRODUCTION, LABORIOUSLY PREPARED, AND HELD IN SECRET BY AN APPREHENSIVE LEADERSHIP, ANXIOUS TO CONFIRM NEW LINEUP WHILE PRESSURE FOR FURTHER CHANGE COULD STILL BE KEPT IN HAND.
JENKINS

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